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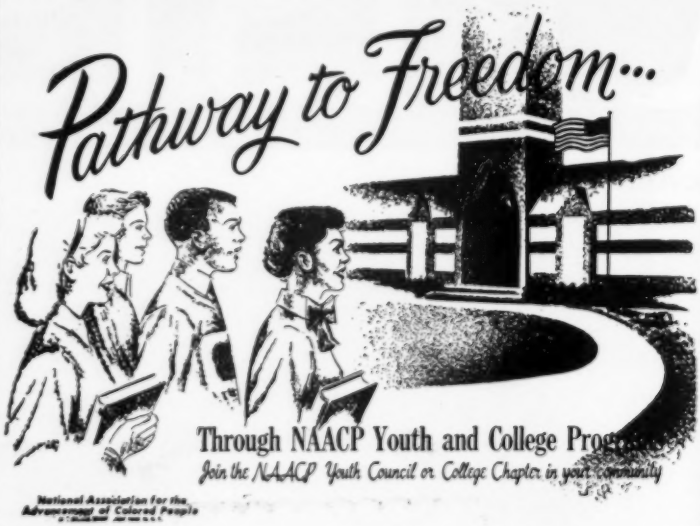
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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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Arizona Republic

LIFE MEMBERSHIP—*Lincoln J. Ragsdale (left), owner of the Ragsdale Mortuary and president of the Valley Life Insurance Company, presents the first installment on his $500 NAACP life membership to Attorney H. B. Daniels, NAACP regional president and former president of the Phoenix branch. Attorney Daniels has been active in school integration suits in his state. Mr. Ragsdale is the first Negro in Phoenix to take out an NAACP life membership.*

■ This article discusses Israel's role in the changing Middle East

Hubert Delany Reports on Israel

By Hubert T. Delany

I VISITED Israel recently as consultant to the Minister of Justice on questions relating to juvenile delinquency and the children's courts. I left Israel with a feeling of admiration for the Israeli approach to the problem of juvenile delinquency, though I cannot say that their facilities for dealing with it are better than our own.

As a judge my primary interest was in those areas where questions of justice and morality are uppermost. There is a vast upheaval now underway in Asia and Africa, particularly in that area known as the Near East and Middle East. There is an angry casting off of the last vestige of colonialism which is symptomatic of the natural desire of former subject peoples to be masters in their own house.

I have heard many conflicting opinions regarding Israel's role in this changing area of the world. Is Israel part of the anti-imperialist movement or is she, as a Western nation with Western interests, a deterrent to it? What about the Arab refugees? How do the Israelis, themselves once a persecuted minority, treat the Arab minority within their borders? Is there a racial problem in Israel where a once predominantly European Jewish population is now intermixed with a great influx of Jewish immigrants from the backward countries of Africa and Asia? I should like to examine these questions individually.

HUBERT T. DELANY *is a retired justice of the Domestic Relations Court of the City of New York.*

STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM

Like so many other anti-colonial movements, Israel's struggle for independence began in earnest at the close of World War II. Its roots, however, pre-date the war by many years.

Before the war, the Jewish community in Palestine numbered about 650,000. Its primary concern was the development of cooperative agriculture and industry, a society based on the democratic principles of Western socialism. The average Arab in Palestine desired to live peacefully with his Jewish neighbors. He bene-

fited in health and general welfare from Western health standards and technology introduced by the Jews of Palestine. Palestine had been taken from Turkey at the close of the first world war and was thereafter governed by England under a mandate from the League of Nations, on the understanding that Palestine was once more to become the homeland of the Jewish people.

SECURITY PROBLEMS

The Jewish community, however, faced a grave security problem in the excesses of Arab terriorists under the direction of Haj Amin el Husseini, Mufti of Jerusalem, who became one of Hitler's chief collaborators in the Middle East. The ordinary Arab himself was often a victim of the Mufti's terrorist gangs.

Jewish Palestine received a grave blow in 1939, at a time when Jews were fleeing from Hitler. The British Foreign Office issued a White Paper limiting Jewish immigration to Palestine to 75,000 to be admitted within a period of five years after which Jewish entry was to cease. Shortly afterwards, the Palestine Administration published new land regulations which, in effect, barred Jews from buying land or even renting a house in 97 percent of Palestine apart from the area previously settled by Jews.

This restrictive policy gave rise to a Jewish resistance movement. Haganah, the Jewish defense organization, sought to bring refugees into Palestine clandestinely. In addition, two dissident groups, the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the smaller but more reckless Sternists, engaged in anti-British terrorist activities. During World War II all Jewish resistance was suspended and the Jewish community devoted its manpower and resources to the Allied war effort.

At the end of World War II, the White Paper restrictions were still in force, and were applied by the British with renewed vigor. There were few Jewish families in Palestine which had not lost a parent, a relative or a friend through Nazi race murder. The Jews in Palestine felt that the surviving remnants of European Jewry must be rescued at all costs and brought to a land where they would be welcome, and could live as free men.

Haganah took charge of the clandestine immigration movement on a far greater scale than before the war. As the British blockade tightened, the defense organization, which had always eschewed retaliation, began to take active measures against British military installations. The Irgun and Sternists mounted a new terrorist campaign against the British. They did not have the support of responsible Jewish authorities and their excesses were denounced. It is noteworthy that the pattern of Jewish resistance in Palestine is now being followed by the nationalist groups in Algeria against French colonialism, and particularly by the EOKA in Cyprus against British colonialism.

As the resistance of the Jews in Palestine increased against the British colonial policy in Palestine, Britain placed the Palestine problem in the lap of the United Nations in the spring of 1947. It was obvious that Britain was playing for time. Britain petulantly refused to cooperate with the United Nations partition decision of November 29, 1947, which called

for the establishment in Palestine of two sovereign States, one Jewish and one Arab. The British sanctimoniously announced that their Mandate would end by May 15, 1948, and that all British personnel would be withdrawn from Palestine by August 1st of that year. The British, however, failed to implement the change by a gradual and orderly handing over of authority and facilities to the Jews in the portion of the country alloted to them by decision of the United Nations. The Arab states would have no part of the U.N. decision and prepared to annul it by force.*

The British openly facilitated the entry into Palestine of armed Arab guerilla bands and took no measures to discourage or prevent the invasion of the country by the regular armies of six Arab states. The British believed that the Jewish community would be helpless in the face of a three-front attack. They were sure that, after initial bloodshed, the Jews and the Arabs too would implore the British to return as protectors of Palestine, or, the United Nations would scrap the partition plan and renew British control of the country, probably as a trustee of the United Nations.

British expectations came to naught. The State of Israel which then consisted of that part of Palestine alloted to the Jewish population by the partition agreement of the United Nations, proclaimed its independence on May 14, 1948. Within three months it had soundly defeated the invading armies from the Arab states. Israel's actions thereby single-handedly implemented the United Nations' intentions, at least as they applied to a Jewish State. Israel's unexpected victory over the invading armies of the Arab States gave rise to two problems which still seriously disturb the stability of the Middle East. These problems are (1) Israel's permanent boundaries, and (2) the Arab refugees. The latter is a human problem which concerns all people who care about human beings.

* These states included Iraq and Jordan, then virtually British dependencies, Egypt then ruled by the corrupt Farouk, Syria in constant turmoil from internal crises, Yemen and Saudi Arabia.

ISRAEL'S BOUNDARIES

The majority report of the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine (UNSCOP) allotted to the Jewish State an area of about 6,000 square miles. This was to include the coastal plain extending from 15 miles south of Tel Aviv to a point north of Haifa, the western half of Galilee and most of the Negev, the desert triangle of southern Palestine. Western Galilee, central Palestine and part of the Negev were to constitute an independent Arab State. Both Jewish and Arab states were to be joined together in a customs union. Jerusalem was to be an international enclave governed by the United Nations. Through the fortunes of battle, that no one expected Israel to win, the Israelis increased their territory by about 2,000 square miles.

The Jewish State today, with a total area of about 8,000 square miles is still just a shade larger than the State of New Jersey. The major portion of Palestine that was to have been an independent Arab state was and still is occupied by Egypt

and Jordan although neither country was ever entitled under the partition plan of the United Nations to an inch of Palestinian soil. Jordan holds all of central Palestine, the old walled city of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, which areas she subsequently annexed. Egypt holds the coastal strip from north of Gaza to the Egyptian border. Both Jordan and Egypt as well as Israel have increased the territory they previously held as a result of the war which commenced when the British withdrew from Palestine and the Arab countries invaded the territory allotted to Israel by the United Nations.

REFUGEE PROBLEMS

Studies of the population records of the Palestine Mandate Government show a total Arab population of 850,000, all but 50,000 in that part of Palestine which now constitutes Israel. Of this number, some 180,000 Arabs are now living in Israel. This leaves approximately 620,000 refugees to which figure must be added the natural increase since 1948. The U.N. Conciliation Commission accepted a figure of 710,000.

These figures do not necessarily indicate the total number of Arabs now living in refugee camps around the borders of Israel. Large sections of the surrounding, non-Palestinian population have registered as refugees in order to share in the international relief which, alone, has amounted to $200 million in the last eight years. In May, 1949, the International Red Cross stated that "it was becoming increasingly difficult to differentiate, as far as destitution is concerned, between refugees and residents."

Widely conflicting stories surround the origin of the Palestine refugee problem. Here is what the record shows, as far as I could determine.

The first single large scale Arab flight occurred in the port city of Haifa late in April, 1948, after Iraqi troops in the Arab sector of the city launched an abortive attack on the Jewish quarters. Many neutral observers described what happened. The *London Economist* said in its account:

> The Jewish authorities, who are now in complete control . . . urged all Arabs to remain and guaranteed them protection and security. . . . However, of the 62,000 Arabs who lived in Haifa, not more than 5,000 or 6,000 remained. Various factors influenced their decision to seek safety in flight. There is little doubt that the most potent of these were the announcements made over the air by the Arab Higher Executive urging all Arabs in Haifa to quit. The reason given was that upon the final withdrawal of the British, the combined armies of the Arab states would invade Palestine and drive the Jews into the sea, and it was clearly intimated that those Arabs who remained in Haifa would be regarded as renegades.

On April 26, 1948, British police in Haifa reported to headquarters:

> Every effort is being made by the Jews to persuade the Arab population to stay and carry on with their normal lives and to be assured that their lives and interests will be safe.

In a report to the Arab governments on the second anniversary of the Haifa flight, the Arab National Committee of Haifa, which had held authority during the crucial period, reported:

> The removal . . . was voluntary and carried out at our request. The Jewish representatives expressed their deep regret and the Jewish Mayor . . .

adjourned the meeting . . . with a passionate appeal to the Arabs to reconsider their decision. . . . It seems that the Jews intended . . . to prove that the Haifa Arabs could live safely and securely.

On August 16, 1948, Monsignor George Hakim, Arab Greek Catholic Bishop of Galilee, wrote:

The refugees had been confident that . . . they would return within a few days—within a week or two. Their leaders had promised them that the Arab armies would crush the 'Zionist gang' very quickly.

Finally, an Arab political leader, Emile Ghoury, Secretary of the Arab Higher Command, said on September 15, 1948:

I do not want to impugn anyone but only to help the refugees. The fact that there are these refugees is the direct consequence of the action of the Arab states in opposing partition and the Jewish State. The Arab states agreed upon this policy unanimously and they must share in the solution of the problem.

CRUEL EPISODES

It would appear from Arab and neutral quarters, that the Arab flight from Palestine was due to a combination of panic, exhortation, and false promises from Arab leaders. It was obviously Arab policy to clear areas for the invading Arab armies and to prevent local truces between Jews and Palestinian Arabs.

The Arabs have recited with veracity a cruel episode in this tragic period, the death of 250 Arab men, women and children at Dier Yassin, an Arab village near Jerusalem, as a result of an operation carried out by the dissident Irgun group which was then nominally under the Jerusalem command but which conducted itself independently of the official Jewish armed forces. The Irgunists were disowned by the Jewish State and their military organization was disbanded. The record does not support the Arab allegation that the Dier Yassin incident was typical of Israeli methods as to the reasons why Arabs were forced to flee their homes. An impartial observer cannot overlook the fact that there also has been a record of Arab atrocities. A convoy of doctors and nurses bound from Jerusalem to the Hadassah Hospital on Mt. Scopus was ambushed and massacred by Arabs even thought it had been guaranteed safe passage. Among the mutilated dead left on the roadside were doctors and nurses who had been treating Arabs for years. This incident occurred before the Dier Yassin killings. It cannot be fairly said to have been motivated by revenge. A similar incident occurred at the isolated Etzion settlement, south of Jerusalem, where Jewish defenders out-numbered 5 to 1, were found mutilated beyond recognition.

Since the Arab population fled from Israel there has been a reverse side to the refugee problem. This was the admission by Israel of some 350,000 Jewish refugees from Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Yemen and other Arab lands. In some of these countries, such as Yemen, both the Arab and Jewish populations suffered untold ravages of poverty and disease. The Jews who left the Arab countries arrived in Israel with little more than the clothing on their backs, even though in many cases they were forced to leave behind them homes, lands, orchards, businesses and personal possessions. I do not know who took

these properties or who may be developing them.*

In addition, Israel has admitted thousands upon thousands of Jews from North Africa, many of whom were living in ghettoes and whose only hope of freedom lay in immigration to Israel.

The Arab states are demanding nothing less than repatriation and full compensation for the refugees. Israel contends that mass repatriation would only place an embittered Arab fifth column numbering 710,000 within her borders. Moreover, having admitted three quarters of a million Jewish refugees and immigrants, most of them destitute, the country's economy could not stand up under the sudden mass return of a similar number of destitute Arabs.

Israel has expressed willingness to compensate the refugees for their losses. Meanwhile, Israel has released frozen bank accounts and deposits to the value of twelve and a half million dollars in favor of Arab refugees. I am told that the Jordan Government opposed this move by Israel but was unable to prevent it.

To date, there seems to be little disposition on the part of the Arab countries to integrate the refugees.* They have not cooperated with U.N. work projects designed to alleviate the situation of the refugees. They have opposed regional development schemes, such as the Johnson plan to harness the Jordan River, which would supply water for irrigation of large areas of barren but fertile soil that would benefit the Arab countries as well as Israel. Indeed, the Arab refugees in the Gaza Strip held by Egypt are not even permitted to travel into Egypt, but are restricted to the camps.

ISRAEL'S ARAB POPULATION

According to the census of November 8, 1948, there were 69,000 non-Jews in Israel, most of them Arabs. By the end of 1953, there were 186,000 non-Jews, comprising 11 percent of the population. Approximately 127,000 were Moslems, 41,500 Christians, mainly Arabs, and 17,000 Druze. About two-thirds of the Arab population lives in rural settlements, approximately 50,000 live in cities, and about 20,000 are Bedouin nomads, most of whom live in the Negev.

The increase in Israel of the Arab population, in addition to natural growth, resulted from certain territorial adjustments made within the framework of the armistice agreements. Israel also adopted the humane policy of re-uniting Arab families wherever feasible. The Government of Israel has expressed readiness to greatly expand this policy, but only within the framework of a general peace agreement with the neighboring Arab states. More than 40,000 refugees who fled the country during the war of liberation have returned to Israel illegally, but more than half of them have now been granted permanent residence certificates and full citizenship rights.

One segment of the Arab population, the fiercely independent Druze

* I had intended to make this observation firsthand, as I did while in Israel, but the Jordanian Government did not grant my request to cross the border from Jerusalem to see the Arab refugee camps and to talk with Arab officials about the refugee problem as it affected Arabs as well as Jews.

* They still live, for the most part, in refugee camps that are unfit for human habitation.

numbering 17,000, remained loyal to Israel throught the Palestine war and served in the Israel Army. They constitute a part of the State of Israel today and live in peace and harmony with their fellow citizens.

Arabs now in Israel enjoy full political rights. More than 30,000 of them were eligible to vote in the General Elections to the first Knesset (Parliament) and about 70,000 were eligible to vote in the second General Elections. The Arab ticket polled about four and three-fourths percent of the total national vote. One-third of the Arab votes were cast for non-Arab tickets. Eight Arab members were seated in the second Knesset compared to five in the first.

The Israel Government encourages democratic local government in Arab villages to the same extent as in Jewish settlements. For almost all of the Arab villages, the local elections constituted their first experience with the democratic process.

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Special efforts have been made to improve the lot of the former Arab tenant farmer by increasing his share of the crop and modernizing his agricultural methods. Regional conferences of Arab farmers are convened to discuss improvement projects. Arab farmers and workers on their own initiative and with the advice and help of the Government of Israel have established more than 130 producer, consumer and distribution cooperative societies along the same lines as Jewish cooperatives. Arabs are welcome to membership in Histadrut, Israel's powerful trade union organization.

Israel has greatly expanded educational facilities for the Arab population. The number of schools maintained in Arab communities increased from 11 in 1948 to 59 in 1954.

Israel has a mixed school system. There are both religious schools and government supported public schools. Hebrew is the official language of instruction in Jewish schools which are open to Arabs as well as to Jews. The Arabs are given full freedom in chosing the schools to which they will send their children. The Arabs seem more inclined to attend Arab schools, also government supported, where Arabic is the language of instruction, though Hebrew language study is mandatory as a second language. Prior to the establishment of the State of Israel only 45 percent of Arab children of school age were attending school. In 1952-53 about 90 percent were attending school.

Arabs living in the major cities and towns where the population is mixed have complete freedom of movement. However, the Israel Government, as a security measure arising from the war, established military governments in three predominantly Arab areas, which include the city of Nazareth. The movement of Arabs from these areas to the rest of Israel is restricted, although the communities enjoy all government services and facilities supplied to the rest of the country and are eligible to vote in general elections. Some Israelis insist that the military government in this area should be abolished. Others feel that since Arab infiltrees have received shelter in Arab villages, the military government must be

continued until peace has been established between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

ISRAEL'S IMMIGRANT MINORITIES

Of the 750,000 immigrants who have entered Israel during the past eight years, about half are from backward countries of Asia and Africa. These include a considerable number of dark-skinned Jews from Yemen, Iraq and Morocco, and lesser numbers from the Sudan, Ethiopia, Cochin, and India.

There are no ethnic qualifications for immigration or citizenship. Educational and vocational opportunities are equal for all. There are no "gentlemen's agreements" with regard to housing. Yet it is apparent that many newcomers of similar national origins do form communities in the cities and in rural settlements, made up largely of newcomers from the area from which they originally emigrated. This is also characteristic of many Western settlers. There are American collective settlements, German, North African and French settlements. The earlier Jewish immigrants who came from Eastern and Central Europe formed one community, while the later arrivals from Germany and Austria formed another. In this respect, Israel is quite similar to the United States of 75 or 100 years ago when first generation Irish, Italian, Jewish and Slavic immigrants formed individual communities in our large urban centers, to which they emigrated from Europe. In Israel, as in the United States, this initial separatism arises from the natural desire of new immigrants to live among people they knew in the country of their origin, and who share their own manners and customs. There is no policy of the Government of Israel that requires the formation of such collective settlements, kibbutzim or communities.

YEMENITE JEWS & RACIAL CONCEPTS

I found no evidence in Israel of a concept of "inferior races." Each wave of immigration has brought its own special qualities. The early pioneers to Israel from Eastern Europe came with unbounded ideological fervor and laid the foundations of a modern Socialist society. The Germans, fleeing Hitler, introduced modern technology. American and British Jews brought Western industrial and administrative concepts. The Oriental Jews, from Iran, Iraq, Morocco and Yemen, brought a simple and ancient piety and great skills in arts and crafts. It is, perhaps, this tremendous diversity of talents that is Israel's greatest strength.

Despite what I have said above, I had heard before I visited Israel that the Yemenite Jews were discriminated against because they were dark Jews and of the servant class. The facts are that the Yemenite Jews are not of the servant class at all. They are among the most artistic people in Israel with skills relating to the arts, crafts and the dance. They are as much a part of the people of Israel as are any other Jews who have come from other lands. The origin of the Yemenite Jews is not Africa, but Yemen, a country in Arabia. The women are as beautiful as any women one could see anywhere, and they carry themselves with dignity, and decorum. Yemenite Jews are known not only for their skills in arts and crafts, and for their

dancing, but as that sect of the Hebrew religion that represents the original form of Hebrew worship which they have maintained throughout the ages.

ORIGIN OF VISIT & IMPRESSIONS

I did not go to Israel as a special pleader for Israel, I went rather in my professional capacity as consultant to the Minister of Justice, and in my personal capacity as a human being interested in peace and the welfare of all people.

My general impressions about the State of Israel are that this is a country of hope and fulfillment. As I went about the country seeing the formerly barren and unproductive hills of Judea; the formerly barren and unproductive plains of Beersheba and the Negev transformed into fertile and productive soil—as I saw the barren hills and plains reforested so as to improve and to preserve the soil and to beautify the scenery, the gigantic program of new housing developments already completed, I said to myself, "What wonders have been wrought in the land of Israel by the people of the new Government!"

On the specific problem of juvenile delinquency, I find that the rate of delinquency in Israel is about the same as that which exists in the States. The ages at which a child can be brought into court in Israel range from 9-16 years, whereas in the States, ages range from 7-16.

Despite the fact that I had been told in America that there was no problem of juvenile delinquency in Israel, I knew from my past experience that this could not be true. I expected to find the rate even higher than it is, because I knew before I arrived that the Government of Israel had absorbed a new population of almost one million immigrants from almost 50 different countries of varying cultures: people and children from broken homes; people who had suffered untold miseries and oppression. How could such people, who had been so unhappy, confused and frustrated, not transmit their own confusions and frustrations to their children?

I found that the physical facilities for treating children who are delinquents are, of course, not adequate. The same problems arising from inadequacy of facilities exist in Israel as in the States. There is one difference, however: I found that in visiting some of the institutions, notably the Messillah Home for Children in Jerusalem (which represents a totally inadequate facility, from the point of view of physical structure, overcrowding and health hazards) that the children nevertheless seemed happy, despite the inadequacy of the facilities, because the program arranged for the children, and the staff that are handling them show happy enthusiasm for their work and love for the children. The staff does not appear to be tense or frustrated, nor do the children.

The Youth Centres and Hostels that I saw and the Home for Disturbed Delinquent Children, the Children's Home for Neglected Children located in Tel Aviv, represent good physical facilities. The programs and the people working with the children who go to these centres are excellent and they show good results in the faces and attitude of the happy children who are served by these facilities.

There are some serious lacks of facilities for handling children who have no home to go to when they are brought to court, when they are totally rejected by their parents, or have no parents. An institution is needed for the young girl, with a program suited to meet her needs, who at the age of 14 or 15 becomes pregnant and must be sent to prison to have her baby because there is no institution available to receive her. There also exists the necessity for establishing an institution for boys from 12-18 who, by reason of the seriousness of the problems they present, cannot be accommodated in present existing institutions.

WORK THERAPY

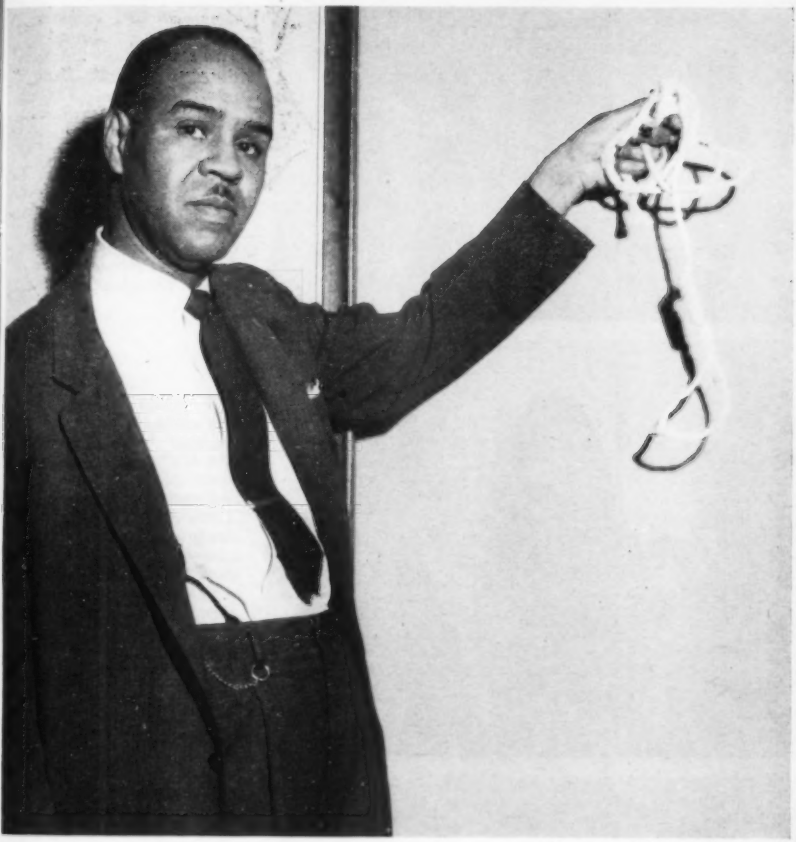
The manner in which Israel meets its problems in dealing with the adult criminal population is one that deserves special comment and real praise. I visited for a full day with the Director of Prisons. Even in the security prison which I visited, I found a relationship between inmate and staff, and staff and director of prisons, which was amazing. No one seemed to be under pressure. The program of work therapy arranged for the inmates—the absence of guns and night-sticks in the hands of the prison officials — the program arranged for the rehabilitation of the prisoners, was strikingly good. In addition, the food served the prisoners was better than the usual prison fare. It is no wonder then that the adult criminal population has been reduced from approximately 4,000 inmates a year under the Palestine Mandate to less than 1,000, with less than 30 women in the entire country in prisons for committing criminal offenses.

It is my firm conviction that any program designed to handle the problems of either juvenile or adult offenders against the law, which is based upon hostile treatment of the inmates by the staff, is one that does not work to the benefit of either the inmates or the people of the State. One cannot rehabilitate a prisoner without training him in a warm, friendly atmosphere while he is serving his sentence. Rehabilitation based upon the philosophy of "fear of punishment, or for sake of reward," has proved self defeating over the centuries. I am sure in my own mind, that hostility begets hostility, and that one cannot beat goodness into a juvenile or into an adult offender; neither can one beat badness out of him. One must train him and give him an opportunity of re-establishing himself within the framework of society, if one is to secure beneficial results in the operation of any prison or detention facility.

The method of appointing judges in Isreal seems to me to be an excellent method. Not only because the judges are selected by a committee representing and constituting proper persons to carry out this important function, but also because the judges are selected for life, and therefore are responsible to no one but their own conscience for the proper performances of their obligations to the people of the State.

Finally, let me say that I hope that the State of Israel will continue to emphasize in its treatment of the juvenile, and the adult criminal population that redemption, and not punishment, is the best means of restoring an offender against society

(*Continued on page* 574)



Layne's Studio

NOOSE SENT TO NAACP—*Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, displays hangman's noose sent to Association's national headquarters from Florida. An accompanying message from holder of Box 87 in Perry, Florida, was neatly typed as follows: "THEY TELL ME IF YOU GIVE A NIGGER ENOUGH ROPE HE WILL HANG HIMSELF. SO HERE IT IS. P. S. PLEASE USE AND PASS ON. P. P. S. A THEME SONG FOR THE N.A.A.C.P. (BYE BYE BLACK-BIRD.)"*

Bronson O'Reilly (left), Shelter Island Democratic candidate for congressman, debated civil rights question with state senator Elisha Barrett (second from right), Brightwaters Republican, at political action meeting of Central Long Island branch, Amityville, N. Y. Others are Mrs. Dorothea Cumberbach of the Wyandanch board of education and Dr. Eugene T. Reed, branch president.

Mrs. Rosetta James of East Elmhurst, N. Y., receives trophy from NAACP's executive secretary Roy Wilkins at national office in New York. Mrs. James is campaign committee chairman of the Corona-Elmhurst branch which won top place in the greater New York drive last spring. Looking on is John A. Evans, branch president.

Crew members of the S. S. United States *present checks to NAACP's John A. Morsell (center), assistant to the Association's executive secretary. More than $1,000 in NAACP memberships and initial life membership payments. were collected. Shown in picture, from L, are Lee D. Yee, John Dudley, John Morsell, James Plater, and Oswald Bonitto.*

Some of the Pittsburgh, Penn., branch workers awarded gold NAACP pins for having become "Pancas" — a society made up of individuals turning in 50 or more NAACP memberships. The local branch had twenty persons eligible for "Panca" membership.

The Pittsburgh branch closed its most successful membership drive in recent years with 4,330 members and more being added daily. Pictured are Rev. Charles Foggie, branch president; Mrs. Edna Bonner, membership chairman; congratulating Matthew Moore, top membership getter with 330 persons.

During August 1956 convention of the National Negro Funeral Directors Association a committee was approved to solicit NAACP life memberships from NNFDA members. This is the first time a national organization has established a nationwide committee to aid the NAACP life membership campaign.

■ With the PNM victory Trinidad is now in a position to introduce needed social reforms

Significance of the PNM Victory in Trinidad

By George Padmore

THE sweeping victory of the Left-wing People's National Movement in the Trinidad general election which has just taken place under the new constitution is one of the most significant events in West Indian politics in recent years. It will not only contribute towards the constitutional advancement of that colony along clearly defined party lines. It will also help to bring into being a socialist house of representatives and cabinet when the first general elections take place under the proposed federal system early in 1958.

Although Trinidad is the richest and most industrialized Caribbean colony, thanks to its oil and asphalt resources, which supplement the sugar production which predominates West Indian economy, the island has up till now been the most politically backward. As a result, Trinidad has been a retarding element in the formation of an All-Caribbean Federation of progressive political movements committed to a socialist pattern of society. With the complete defeat of the local conservatives, masquerading under the highfaluting title of the Party of Political Progress Groups, led by Albert Gomes, C.M.G., the former minister of trade and commerce, as well as the so-called People's Democratic Movement, a Hindu communalist organization which is opposed to federation, the P.N.M. government will be able to introduce urgent social and economic reforms. It will throw its full weight behind Norman Manley's People National Party Government of Jamaica and Grantley Adams' Labor Government of Bar-

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GEORGE PADMORE, *a native of Trinidad now resident in London, England, is the well-known expert on British colonial problems. His most recent book is Pan-Africanism or Communism? (London: Dennis Dobson, 1956).*

H. Thorne

DR. ERIC WILLIAMS

bados in securing a socialist majority in the West Indian Federal Government.

The credit for this remarkable change in the political climate Trinidad is due in large measure to Dr. Eric Williams, the party leader, and his able and better-known lieutenant, Learie Constantine, the famous international cricketer, both of whom were elected to the Legislative Council.

It was a hard-fought contest. For the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which is the most powerful religious body in the island, campaigned openly against the P.N.M., since the party advocates birth control and state control of education.

The initiative in forming the P.N.M. was taken by Dr. Williams only eight months ago, after he had severed connections with the Caribbean Research Council, of which he was deputy chairman and editor of the Anglo-American Carribean Commission publications. Prior to joining the staff of the Council in 1944, Dr. Williams held the position of assistant professor of social and political science under Dr. Ralph Bunche at Howard University in the United States.

Dr. Williams was born in Trinidad in 1911, the son of a Negro civil servant. He won the Island Classical Scholarship in 1931 and went up to Oxford in the following year. After a brilliant academic career, he achieved a double first in the honor school of modern history and was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy for his thesis on the "Economic Aspect of the Abolition of the British West Indian Slave Trade and Slavery." His book *Capitalism and Slavery* (North Carolina University Press), which is considered the standard work on the subject, brought him in 1940 a Julius Rosenwald Fellowship for advanced studies on social and economic conditions throughout the Caribbean area.

Although the Trinidad constitution is not as advanced as that of Jamaica or Barbados, it goes beyond the previous one. Its limitations are due largely to the opposition to a more liberal constitution which came from the leaders of the Party of Political Progress Groups, the spokesmen for Trinidad vested interests. Under the old constitution, introduced by the Labor Government in 1950, the Legislative Council consisted of a Speaker appointed by the Governor, three ex-officio members—the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney General and the Financial Secretary—five members nominated by the Gover-

nor, and eighteen members, elected by universal adult suffrage. The Executive Council, the chief instrument of government, was composed of the Governor as chairman, the three ex-officio members of the legislature, five elected and one nominated members. The Governor assigned to the elected members the portfolios of education and social services; labor, industry and commerce; agriculture and lands; communications and works; health and local government. No provision was made for the office of Chief Minister, but Albert Gomes, officially the minister of labor, industry and commerce, assumed the role of Chief Minister *de facto*.

Under the present constitution, the Speaker will be elected from either within or outside the Assembly. Representative membership has been increased from eighteen to twenty-four, but the principle of nominating five members has been retained. By this device the Governor will be able to appoint to the Council conservatives and other reactionaries who have been rejected by the people at the polls. In addition, the Colonial Secretary and the Attornel General remain members of the Legislative Council, while the duties of the Financial Secretary will be assumed by a minister. On the executive side, the Governor will continue to preside. Apart from the Colonial Secretary and Attorney General, there will be eight other members selected from among the majority party in the Legislative Council, including the Chief Minister.

As leader of the majority party, Dr. Williams will have to provide eight ministers from his small band of thirteen, which will be cutting his political cloth very close, unless he is able to form a coalition with one of the smaller opposition groups. These are the Home Rule Party, headed by the erratic and flamboyant trade uninist, Uriah "Buzz" Butler, which has three seats, or the even smaller right-wing Labor Party, which won two seats.

The largest opposition party is the Hindu Democratic Movement, which, unlike Dr. Jagan's P.P.P. in British Guiana, is openly reactionary and racialist.

Whatever arrangement Dr. Williams makes with opposition groups in order to consolidate his position in the legislature, his Government is committed to a program of higher wages, social security, better housing, more and better schools, new industries and full employment, as well as full support for West Indian Federation and Dominion status within five years.

Against the kind of colonial economy existing in the West Indies, the People's National Movement has a formidable task ahead and deserves the full support and backing of the British labor and trade union movements, and of all anti-imperialists and anti-colonialists in Britain.

L. K. Hughes

BRANCH MEETING—*Pictured at this Wichita, Kansas, branch meeting are (from left) Rev. Donald Close, Brotherhood Presbyterian church; Noah W. Griffin, region IV; Mrs. Herbert Parks, branch president; Franklin H. Williams, region I; and Mrs. Mary Evans, chairman program planning.* BOTTOM: *Members Wichita branch putting finishing touches on the 1956 branch workshop. From left, they are Mrs. Herbert Parks, Samuel Cornelius, general chairman; Mary Evans; (standing) Mrs. Phynola Cook, dinner chairman; Danny Weste, arrangement chairman; and Mrs. Chester I. Lewis, Jr., publicity chairman.*

Bill Kramer

YOUTH ACTIVITIES—*New York City youth council meets with Bronx youth of B'nai B'rith in brotherhood workshop.* CENTER: *Dance follows workshop.* BOTTOM: *Dr. Frank Horne addresses workshop conference.*

Are Negroes Educable?

By Martin D. Jenkins

This article appeared originally in The Sun *(Baltimore, Maryland, September 29, 1956) as a letter to the editor and was written in reply to a* Sun *editorial, "Standards of Schooling." Both* The Sun *editorial and Dr. Jenkins' reply were provoked by Dr. Frank C. J. McGurk's "A Scientist's Report on Race Differences"* (U. S. News & World Report, *September 21, 1956). Dr. Jenkins refutes Dr. McGurk's contention that intelligence tests prove that "Negroes are below whites in capacity for education" and that "improvement of Negroes' social and economic status does not reduce this difference."*

I WISH to comment on your editorial "Standards of Schooling" (September 19) with particular reference to (1) your uncritical acceptance of the conclusion of Associate Professor McGurk that an improved environment does not appear to affect intelligence-test performance, and (2) your lightly veiled conclusion that desegregation constitutes "a threat to standards in public education."

1. I believe *The Sun* to be in serious error in its ready and uncritical acceptance of Dr. McGurk's conclusions. Certainly, one of the prime responsibilities of the journalist is to check the source of his data! *U. S. News & World Report,* in which his article appears, is well known as a prosegregation magazine. It presents here a purported "scientist's report on race differences which supports its prosegregation line. Yet, this "scientist" is not an authority in his field but rather a little-known psychologist of low academic rank whose published scientific work consists of one brief article in a psychological journal.

It is impossible in the space available here to present a critical review of Dr. McGurk's article. He makes the common error of placing undue confidence in the equating of the socio-economic status of the white and Negro subjects of the studies he reviews.

If one were charitable, one would attribute this to naiveté. But it is all

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too clear that Dr. McGurk has set out to prove a thesis. He disregards entirely the many studies which show the positive effect of an improved environment on test performance. His conclusions and sweeping generalizations would be accepted by few if any psychologists of repute. Yet the temper of the times is such that *The Sun* readily embraces them.

You state, "But Dr. McGurk disposes of that, too. Environmental conditions for the Negro population have improved tremendously, as we all know, during the last one third of a century. But this improvement is not reflected at all in the most recent studies. . . ."

Now really, *The Sun* ought to know better; If this were true, it would mean that there are inherent biological racial differences in capacity for attainment. You are reviving here an outmoded interpretation which was rejected early in the nature-nurture controversy.

This brief quotation from your editorial includes both a questionable assumption and an error in fact. Although there has been gratifying absolute progress, actually the environmental conditions of the masses of the Negro people have not improved *tremendously* in the last third of a century. There is a real question as to whether, *relative to the general population*, they have improved more than slightly. The *average* Negro child still attends the poorest schools in his community; he is still confined to the poorest neighborhoods with the poorest cultural resources; he still may not aspire, except in a limited way, to the best and most respected jobs; he is still in the lowest economic class—in Baltimore, the income of the average Negro worker is only 52 per cent of that of the average white worker; he still experiences that lack of expectation which should be the heritage of every American boy and girl; and he still lives his life encysted in a caste culture and isolated from the main current of American life.

It is axiomatic that an improvement in environment results in an improvement in test performance because all psychological measurement is based on the experience of the children tested.

On the basis of test performance (all of these are averages), whites are superior to Negroes, urban children to rural, native whites to immigrants, children of high socio-economic status to those of lower. Southern Nergo children who migrate to northern communities show an increase in I.Q. and achievement as do rural children from impoverished communities who move to cities. Southern whites make lower scores than northern whites and the differential increases as the difference between the cultural level of the respective communities increases. Particularly significant is the fact that in World War I the average intelligence-test score of Negro recruits from a number of northern states was higher than that of white recruits from several southern states; and that in World War II the rejection rate of registrants due to failure to meet minimum "intelligence" standards was higher for whites in Georgia, Virginia, Alabama, South Carolina, Arkansas, Texas and North Carolina than for Negroes in New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Indiana and Ohio. All of these differ-

ences are clearly due to environment; to attribute them to inherent factors based on race or geographic selection would be manifestly absurd.

2. Apparently, the principal point of your editorial is that racial desegregation may constitute a "threat to standards in public education." No doubt you are entirely unaware of the subtle arrogance reflected in the way you have posed the question. Obviously, Negro children are already a part of public education. In this respect nothing is being changed by desegregation—exactly the same children are involved. So, overall, standards cannot be affected by interchanging children in the schools.

What you really seem to mean is that there may be a threat to standards in what formerly were white schools. There are a number of "threats" to standards: on any test, half of the school population falls in the lower half of the distribution—these lower-scoring children constitute a threat; the many white children who come to Baltimore from southern and rural areas constitute a threat; the bulk of the children of low socio-economic status constitute a threat. No one would suggest the setting apart of these children in order to maintain standards.

Now there is no question whatever that the *average* achievement level of Negro children is lower than that of white children in any given grade. In view of some of the things I have mentioned above, we could hardly expect otherwise. It is important to recognize, however, that these children do not constitute a discrete group. They fall within the range of the white school population and present educationally at least the same problem presented by any below-grade pupils. It is significant, too, that many Negro children are above average and that some are at the very highest level in test performance. My own studies have shown that there are Negro children who are among the brightest children in America.

The problem then is first of all an educational one. For administrators and teachers in our schools, it means treating every child on his or her merits; it means smaller classes and appropriate guidance procedures; it means the implementation of developmental and remedial procedures in terms of the needs of individual children; it may mean that underprivileged children generally will be retarded. But it does not necessarily mean a lowering of standards.

For the public it means what it should have meant all along—willingness to furnish the funds to provide an adequate education for all of our children.

But there is something more basic. What we have to do in this community and others is to provide Negro children exactly the same opportunities for development that other American children have. When we do this, we will have no problem. It is just that simple. Until we do this, we cannot expect these children and adults to measure up fully to American standards. This is what our national leadership and particularly the Supreme Court so clearly see. This is why we are having now this battle for full citizenship rights. This is why *The Sun* should be less disturbed about a threat to standards in public education and more disturbed about the racial bars to opportunity which exist in our community.

PHILADELPHIA *Mayor Richardson Dilworth (right) receives credentials from Harold L. Pilgrim, 1956 membership chairman Philadelphia, Penn., branch, while branch president Dr. Harry Greene looks on.* BOTTOM: *Second vice-president M. T. Blanton (third from left) of the Chicago, Illinois, branch receives $205 check from the Ultra Teens, proceeds of their NAACP benefit party.*

■ This joint statement of eighteen prominent social scientists attacks as scientifically unjustified theories that the intellectual potential of Negroes is inferior to that of whites

Negro-White Differences in Intelligence Test Scores

IN CONNECTION with the process of school desegregation and the difficulties with which it has been accompanied in certain areas, the question has again arisen as to the existence of innate differences in intelligence between Negroes and whites. The present statement is directed to that question. Those who have signed it are not on this occasion taking sides with regard to the problem of desegregation as a whole, nor with the manner or the rapidity with which it should be accomplished. They are for the moment concerned only with the facts and conclusions accepted by scientists with regard to racial comparisons in inborn intellectual capacity.

A number of years ago, at a time when Nazi race theories were receiving much publicity, several scientific organizations placed themselves on record as opposed to the conclusion that race was a determiner of innate psychological characteristics; their position was that no such relationship had ever been scientifically demonstrated. These organizations included, among others, the American Anthropological Association (in 1939) and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, a division of the American Psychological Association (in 1938). More recently (in 1950) a group of distinguished social scientists meeting in Unesco House in Paris issued a Statement on Race which reads in part as follows:

Whatever classification the authropologist makes of man, he never includes mental characteristics as part of those classifications. It is now generally recognized that intelligence tests do not in themselves enable us to differentiate safely between what is due to innate capacity and what is the result of environmental influences, training and education. Wherever it has been possible to make allowances for differences in environmental opportunities, the tests have shown essential similarity in mental characters among all human groups. In short, given similar degrees of cultural opportunity to realize their potentialities, the average achievement of the members of each ethnic group is about the same.

Two years later an equally dis-

tinguished assembly of geneticists and physical anthropologists, also meeting in Paris, pointed out that:

> The scientific material available to us at present does not justify the conclusion that inherited genetic differences are a major factor in producing the differences between the cultures and cultural achievements of different peoples or groups. It does indicate, on the contrary, that a major factor in explaining such differences is the cultural experience which each group has undergone.

In 1953, a Statement submitted to the United States Supreme Court by more than thirty American social scientists, included the following:

> The available scientific evidence indicates that much, perhaps all, of the observable differences among various racial and national groups may be adequately explained in terms of environmental differences. . . . It seems clear, therefore, that fears based on the assumption of innate racial differences in intelligence are not well founded.

CONSENSUS OF OPINION

These statements still stand, and in our judgment represent the consensus among experts who have studied this question as objectively and as scientifically as is at present possible. We know of no new research which would reverse these conclusions.

Those few specialists who take a different position usually do so on two major grounds. The first is that Negro-white differences in intelligence test scores persist even when the two groups are "equated" for social and educational opportunities. To this we would point out that such "equation" is exceedingly difficult to achieve, since the opportunities related to test performance are by no means easy to assess in quantitative terms. We do know that the intelligence quotients of southern Negro children improve markedly after a period of years in the schools available to them in New York or Philadelphia.

In the second place, it has been argued that the differences in I.Q. persist even when "noncultural questions" are used. We would deny the possibility of devising a "noncultural" test in the light of our present understanding of the problem.

In the early days of testing, many psychologists believed that the elimination of the handicap due to language was equivalent to eliminating the influence of culture in general. One psychologist, for example, Professor Florence L. Goodenough of the University of Minnesota, devised a performance test consisting in "Drawing a Man". She regarded this test as "culture-free". Many investigators have made use of this test, and they have been able to demonstate that, contrary to the earlier view, the results are indeed affected by many aspects of previous experience. Professor Goodenough herself has now recognized this fact, and very honestly and courageously points out her former error. Writing with Dale B. Harris on "Studies in the psychology of children's drawings" in the *Psychological Bulletin* for September, 1950, she expresses the opinion that: "the search for a culture-free test, whether of intelligence, artistic ability, personal-social characteristics, or any other measurable trait is illusory." She goes on to

state that her own earlier study "is certainly no exception to the rule" and adds, "The writer hereby apologizes for it."

INTELLECTUAL ACHIEVEMENT

No one can deny that at the present time the intellectual achievement of American Negro children, particularly those who come from segregated schools, is lower *on the average* than that of white children, nor that a reasonable amount of time must elapse before the gap can be closed. We would interpret the difference in terms of the *whole* pattern of educational opportunities associated with the social environment, and which may affect both the physical and mental development of the child. Even those few scholars, however, who prefer an explanation in terms of race, indicate that there is *overlapping* between the two racial groups. Overlapping is usually defined technically as the percentage in one group which is superior in test scores to the median or average score obtained by the other. *In every comparison with which we are familiar in this field there is some degree of overlapping.* This means more than that *some* Negro children do better than *some* white children. It means that some Negro children do better than the *average* white child, in spite of all the handicaps to which the former have in the past been subjected.

The conclusion is inescapable that any decision to use differences in the average achievement of the two racial groups as a basis for classifying in advance *any individual child,* Negro or white, is scientifically unjustified.

The signers, most of them members of the American Psychological Association, include: Professor Otto Klineberg, Columbia University; Professor Theodore Newcomb, University of Michigan; Dr. Gardner Murphy, Menninger Foundation; Professor Nevitt Sanford, Vassar College; Professor Robin Williams, Jr., Cornell University; Professor David Krech, University of California; Professor Jerome Bruner, Harvard University; Professor Allison Davis, University of Chicago; Professor Daniel Katz, University of Michigan; Professor Anne Anastasi, Fordham University; Professor Stuart Cook, New York University; Professor Isidor Chein, New York University; Professor Marie Jahoda, New York University; Prof. Kenneth Clark, College of the City of New York; Professor Bingham Dai, Duke University School of Medicine; Professor Irving Lorge, Teacher's College, Columbia University; Professor Solomon Asch, Swarthmore College; and Dr. David Rapaport, Austen Riggs Foundation. October 2, 1956.

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Harry Cox

MRS. LILLIE M. JACKSON *(right), president of the Baltimore, Maryland, branch, receives the second prize Thalheimer award of $50 (for branches with paid personnel) from Mrs. R. P. Beshears at the Freedom Fund Dinner of the 47th annual NAACP convention.*

Harry Cox

EDWARD M. TURNER, *president Detroit, Michigan, branch expresses appreciation for $100 check (the first prize Thalheimer award for branches with paid personnel) presented to him by Mrs. R. P. Beshears of St. Joseph, Missouri, acting president of the Missouri state conference of NAACP branches. Presentation of check was made at Freedom Fund Dinner during the 47th annual NAACP convention.*

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Editorials

INTEGRATION PROGRESS

HOW many of us realize the tremendous progress that has been made in racial integration, both North and South? Unfortunately, this progress, which has been progressive and unspectacular, has not made the headlines in 48-point type. It did not involve the turmoil, the violence, the disorders of Clinton, Tennessee, Sturgis, Kentucky, Mansfield, Texas, or Matoaka, West Virginia, and in consequence received little publicity.

But now comes the 120-page book, *Integration: North and South* (a report financed by The Fund for the Republic), by Harold Fleming and David Loth, listing state-by-state and community-by-community the cases where bars against Negroes have been dropped in public and private schools, employment, public accommodations, places of worship, hospitals, social organizations, military establishments, housing, and recreation.

The report covers the period since the United States Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, against segregation. It reveals that in the non-southern states remaining racial segregation and discrimination are not only being reduced steadily, but also that Negro citizens are obtaining positions of leadership in all walks of life.

THE report on the South records 1,100 instances of desegregation in schooling, housing, transportation, employment, and public accommodations, leading to the conclusion that there is "no longer a Solid South of Segregation." Mr. Fleming declares that "the common notion that 'desegregation just can't work' in the South is plainly contradicted by the findings." The 1,100 instances of desegregation discovered were almost evenly divided between the five border states, on the one hand, and the twelve southern states on the other. Virtually all of them took place smoothly and harmoniously.

While the Bourbon South forgets that the world has moved, there are, it seems, many civilized Southerners with a broader conception of human dignity. The future of the South depends upon them.

THEY LIED

SOUTHERN white supremacists often try to win a point by lying, especially if it has to do with the NAACP. About a year ago, the office of the Attorney General of Georgia, headed by Eugene Cook, distributed an inflammatory racial intermarriage leaflet (the text had been supplied by the White Citizens Council of Mississippi) in the official envelopes of the Georgia State Law Department. The WCC also flooded the South with tape recordings and mimeographed texts of an alleged speech made by a non-existent "Prof. Roosevelt Williams" at an NAACP meeting which was never

held. In this imaginary speech the phantom professor tells his listeners that the ultimate aim of the NAACP is intermarriage.

Roy Wilkins, NAACP Executive Secretary, last winter denounced this alleged speech as "an obvious fake." Now the fraud is exposed by the Columbus, Georgia, *Ledger-Enquirer* (September 2, 1956), which editorially denounced its circulation by Attorney General Cook as a "terrible public disservice." Mr. Cook was also lambasted editorially by the Atlanta *Constitution* (September 6, 1956). Faced with this expose, Mr. Cook now says that Robert P. Patterson, Executive Secretary of the Mississippi White Citizens Council, told him: "We never claimed it [the speech] to be authentic."

And there you are. Some Southern gentlemen are just plain lying scoundrels.

FIRST NEGRO CONGRESS

THE First Congress of Negro Writers and Artists held September 19-22, 1956, in the Sorbonne, Paris, France, was an historic event. This Congress was unique because it was the first time a representative group of intellectuals from the Negro-African world had ever met to discuss their common cultural problems. There were fifty-seven delegates, and many more visitors, from some twenty countries, including French West Africa, Uganda, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Angola, Mozambique, Madagascar, Haiti, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Barbados, Jamaica, England, France, and the United States.

M. Alioune Diop and his colleagues, all of the magazine *Présence Africaine*, saw to it that the Congress papers and discussions were confined primarily to cultural problems because the French government would not have permitted open discussion of politics and colonialism. Despite these restrictions, politics did enter the picture from time to time. One speaker, Léopold Sédar-Senghor, put it this way: "Cultural liberation is the *sine qua non* of political liberation." And a Congress resolution said: "We maintain that the growth of culture is dependent upon the termination of such shameful practices in this twentieth century as colonialism, the oppression of weaker peoples, and racialism."

This Congress is probably a portent of increasing nationalism among French-Africans. And it has laid the basis for a permanent organization that will work for greater cooperation among the various black peoples of the world.

DR. CHARLES H. JOHNSON

THE death of Dr. Charles H. Johnson removes one of America's leading sociologists and educators from our midst. Dr. Johnson, a prolific author, wrote extensively on the Negro and race relations. He won a deserved reputation as scholar, journalist, educator, and in his later years as a college administrator and as an expert on international cultural problems. His leadership was in the field of scholarship and education: the day by day partisanship of the hustings he left to others. Dr. Johnson will be sorely missed.

Looking and Listening . . .

NEGRO VIEWPOINT

IT is not often that the viewpoint of the Southern Negro on school integration and racial equality gets stated in a journal of national circulation. In the *New York Times Magazine* (September 23, 1956), the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, explains "A Southern Negro's View of the South." Dr. Johnson writes, among other things:

Southern Negroes do not seriously expect much change in their civil rights status through "grass roots conversion," despite the insistence of white southerners that the region should be left to work out the present racial crisis in its own way. State governments in the South are dominated by rural legislators, whose overall attitude is "anti-labor, anti-capital, anti-race, anti-race, anti-liberal, anti-civil rights, anti-education, anti-intellectual, anti-technology, anti-Federal Government." Most significant improvements in the southern Negro's status have come, consequently, as a result of federal insistence and world public opinion, according to the noted sociologist.

"It is a tragic pity," he writes, "that while the rest of the world is giving new attention and respect to basic human rights, every device from subversion of law to violence is being employed to defeat the Constitution, and with such frantic desperation that no voice of stern national statesmanship dares defy, without apology and compromise, this organized retreat from freedom to tyranny and feudalism."

The middle-of-the-road philosophy that seems to dominate much of the nation's thinking in matters pertaining to race is due to a confusion of the "moral imperatives," according to the Johnson article. Transcendnig the future of any segment of the population is the fate of constitutional government in merica. "There can be no middle-of-the-road attitude toward morality and legality, if the fabric of our society is to remain inviolate."

"Where there is repudiation of the (Supreme) Court, our ultimate constitutional authority, on one issue, there is repudiation of the Court and the law on any and all issues."

The arguments being advanced in defense of the "southern way of life" are "illusory" and "reckless," and completely ignore the views of southern Negroes. This, Dr. Johnson states, is part of the "southern way."

He cites as an example efforts to discredit integration by "proving" that Negro children are not as capable intellectually as white children. "It is a tortuous logic that would use the tragic results of inequality to establish the need of continuing it."

Dr. Johnson observes, in this connection, that in the comprehensive intelligence tests for army recruits, Negro recruits from Ohio, where

better schools are available, scored higher than white recruits from every state of the South except Florida, where there has been an appreciable northern migration.

He concludes with the observation that this is not basically a struggle between whites and Negroes, or the North and the South, or between the national and international points of view, but a struggle between those who believe in democracy and those who do not.

MOB TENSION

NEWSMEN and photographers covering the recent Clinton, Tennessee, school integration dispute received no sympathy from local residents and scant protection from guard officials. Many of them were manhandled and others had to be put under guard protection. Don Bliss (*Editior & Publisher*, September 8, 1956) writes:

State Adjutant General Joe Henry, had sent word to newsmen beforehand that he could offer them no protection in case of such an attack. The general later said he 'pleaded with' the 15 not to cause an incident, but told them they were 'private citizens now.'

The general contends that the flashing of strobe lights and flash-bulbs has materially contributed to the worsening temper of demonstrators. It is certain that the demonstrators become incensed by attempts to take their pictures. Henry takes the position that anything he can do to alleviate the situation—including banning of photographers in the daytime—will hasten the return of law and order in Clinton. . .

The General subsequently advised newsmen Wednesday night that press conferences might be held two a day—one for reporters who wrote a 'fair' story, and the other for reporters who wrote 'biased' accounts of the rushing of the movie crewmen.

It was reported to the guard by the highway patrol that a mob of 400 had gathered in Oliver Springs and was coming here to 'clean up' the photographers. Nothing developed.

One photographer, the *Knoxville Journal's* Bill Anderson, was slugged twice from the rear while he mingled with the mob trying to hear a speaker. He was not seriously hurt.

Early Tuesday morning when the 80 guardsmen, accompanied by two tanks, went to Oliver Springs, newsmen were advised the guard could offer them no protection, if they followed the guard's convoy.

But at least eight newsmen were put under guard protection after being manhandled.

Trouble started when an unidentified phtographer tried to take a picture. At the first flash, someone shouted, 'We don't want our picture taken 'til we have that nigger with a rope around his neck.'

Five mountaineers jumped Don Craves of *Life*. One stuck a pistol in his back, and took Craves to the edge of the crowd.

A Knoxville News-Sentinel photographer, Dave Carter, and *Nashville Tenessean* photographer, Jack Corn, who reached Oliver Springs before the guard contingent arrived, were told to keep their 'picture-takin' machines' away, and finally were manhandled before being rescued when the guard arrived. Carter's shirt was torn.

Others who were shoved around and had to be given protection from the angry mob were Dick Lyons, *Commercial-Appeal* writer; Dick Stolley of *Life*, photographers Mack Harris, Tennessean, Jack Young, UP, and Gene Herrick, AP. . . .

In a conciliatory tone, General Henry told the mob he was ordering the

photographers to stop shooting pictures and ordered guardsmen to confiscate film of any who did.

He subsequently ordered the few reporters and photographers who wanted to enter the Oliver Springs business district with the guardsmen from the scene and indicated, apparently in a fit of pique, that he intended to ban photographers in Clinton and Oliver Springs. He didn't do it, though. . . .

NEW QUARTERLY

A NEW anti-racist magazine is now being published in the Union of South Africa. Called *Africa South*, this new quarterly carries penetrating articles on the whole range of race relations and racial tensions in the Union.

Avowedly anti-apartheid (the official racist policy of the South African government), the new quarterly is sponsored by a wide range of white, Asian and African leadership opposed to South Africa's relentless policies of racial superiority and separation.

Among the South African sponsors are Author Alan Paton and other Liberal party leaders; the Rt. Rev. R. A. Reeves, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg; Labor party leaders such as Alex Hepple, M.P., and Jessie McPherson; and Ellen Hellmann and A. W. Hoernle, both past presidents of South Africa's Institute of Race Relations. Contributors to the first issue include Leo L. Sihlali, president of two African teachers organizations, and Jordan K. Ngubane, a former African National Congress leader.

Opponents of apartheid hope the new publication will serve as the impetus for the first democratic coalition of all non-Communist South African forces—African, Asian, colored and white—dedicated to the creation of a multi-racial society based on full and equal citizenship for all South Africans. This is the major purpose of *Africa South*.

The magazine will also concern itself with the problems and achievements of awakened Africa, especially through articles by legitimate African leaders. In addition, it will carry in each issue a literary supplement for contemporary African poetry and fiction.

VATICAN DAILY

L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO (September 7, 1956), Vatican City daily, has praised United States authorities for acting "with the energy that history demands" in handling the racial conflicts in Clinton, Tennessee.

In its commentary on the situation, *L'Osservatore Romano* stated: "The United States has always protested against all oppressions and human inequalities. This feeling, this fact has raised it to the status of a nation, notwithstanding the great differences of origin and race of those who emigrated there and formed it into one of the most populous and powerful nations of the world."

The paper pointed out that among the Negroes who were the targets of the Tennessee incidents there have been acts of fearlessness, courage and "superiority," both spiritual and civil, that suffice to demonstrate the nobleness of a race of which the whites should be proud.

NEGRO AND JEW

LESLIE A. FIELDER, chairman of the English department at Montana State University, writes in the Summer, 1956, issue of *Midstream,* a quarterly Jewish review, on the "Negro and Jew—Encounter in America. The articles stresses analogies and differences between the problems of Negroes and Jews in the United States.

"In major areas of life in the United States," he argues, "Jews now find themselves wedged uncomfortably in the conflict between the dominant white majority and the oppressed Negro group." In the overall picture there are differences between the two groups. The Negro regards himself as a "native son"; the Jew, as a sojourner in America. Whites have killed themselves over their relation to Negroes, but not to Jews. The Jew likewise is free of guilt of slavery, and he represents, "rather disconcertingly, the major instance in America of an ethnic minority redeemed rather than exploited or dispossessed." "The Negro boasts grimly that he has helped shape the terror of the American spirit; we [the Jews] admit shamefacedly that we have profited by its generosity. . . . America is for the Negro a way into the West, a gateway to Europe. . . . The Jew, conversely, is the gateway into Europe for America. . . . We are what we always were—ourselves. The Negro, on the other hand, cannot endure alienation from the West; for once he steps outside of it, he steps outside of culture—not into Africa to which he cannot return, but into nothingness. The cases of Liberia and modern Israel make the point vividly: a homeland urged on the American Negro and (by and large) rejected, versus one denied the Jew, but fought for and, against ridiculous odds, achieved."

"Similarly, the Negro is the prisoner of his face in a way the Jew is not. . . . A generation or two in America, however, and the Jew is born with a new face. . . . This, too, lies between the Jew and Negro in America: the realization that for one (whether he finally choose it or not) there is always a way out, by emigration or assimilation; for the other there is no exit. . . . The myth of the Jew is a European inheritance, or perhaps better, a persistence; while the myth of the Negro is a product of the American experience and of a crisis in the American mind. . . . The Negro, whether thought of [in literature] as killer or pious slave, has always represented for the American imagination the primitive and the instinctive, the life of impulse whether directed toward good or ill. The Jew, on the other hand, stands symbolically for the uses and abuses of intelligence, for icy legalism or equally cold vengefulness. . . ."

[Negroes and Jews] "are somehow bound together and condemned to a common fate, not less real for being so hard to define. . . . The last irrational grounds of our exclusion are not very different from those which surround the Negro with horror: we are *tabu* peoples, both of us. . . . There is no use quibbling about it; though he does not oppress the Ne-

(*Continued on page* 572)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

TEXAS VS. NAACP

Tyler, Texas: The hearings in the effort of the State of Texas to obtain a temporary injunction to ban NAACP activity were still going on as we went to press. In the hearings, which began on September 28, the State's suit names the NAACP and the Texas state conference of branches as profit-making organizations operating illegally in the state, and has introduced financial and other records obtained from local and national NAACP offices. We hope to have a full report on the Texas trial in our next issue.

VIRGINIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Petersburg, Virginia: Speaking in Petersburg in October, NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins predicted that Virginia's own legislature will destroy her public schools.

He commented at length upon "a program of confusion as to public schools" and "a package of seven bills aimed at the NAACP" recently passed by the Virginia Assembly.

He addressed guests at a testimonial dinner held on October 6 in honor of Dr. J. M. Tinsley of Richmond, a member of the Association's national board of directors and president of the Richmond NAACP branch. The event was sponsored by the Virginia State NAACP.

On the public school question, the NAACP leader asserted: "The Assembly has passed a program of confusion as to public schools that will destroy the system as surely as we sit here tonight. . . . The Stanley plan [on schools] is supposed to guarantee that a Negro child will require about two years to take all the hurdles set up by the new state law. If he survives, and succeeds in his quest, then the governor personally intervenes, funds are cut off, schools are closed, and so forth."

Mr. Wilkins said he agrees with the Richmond *News Leader* and *Times Dispatch* that the package of seven bills aimed at the NAACP, passed by the Assembly on October 1, "threaten the liberties of all Virginians."

"Investigating committees are to be set up," he continued. "Citizens may not 'advocate' anything touching upon racial matters. Citizens may not challenge any racial practice in the courts. Lawyers may not accept employment to challenge any racial matter. Citizens may not, either individually or as organized groups, resort to the courts to redress a racial inequity."

If the laws are enforced, he declared, "free speech will be dead" and "the General Assembly will never again hear another word, pro or con, on racial matters."

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

St. Louis, Missouri: NAACP leaders from fourteen southern and border states unanimously agreed that the current "wave of prosecution" in that region "would not deter them from continuing to carry forward the legal and constitutional efforts to secure compliance with the Supreme Court ruling banning segregation in public schools," Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, reported following a conference with the Association's leaders in those states.

The conference, held in St. Louis on September 22, explored ways and means of counteracting punitive measures against the NAACP. Organizational, legal and public relations aspects of legislative and court action to hamper the NAACP were discussed with national office staff members, who participated in the conference with the state leaders.

Despite official and private efforts to get rid of the NAACP, the southern leaders reported "unabated support of the NAACP program in their respective states."

At the conclusion of the session, Mr. Wilkins pointed out that local courts in "three states—Alabama, Louisiana and Texas—have granted injunctions banning NAACP activity. Virginia, South Carolina and other states have passed laws designed to restrict the activities of the Association. Mississippi has announced the formulation of a secret police force."

The St. Louis conference, the NAACP leader said, "was called to consider methods of dealing with the issues created by such state action. In addition to anti-NAACP legislation, mob defiance of the Supreme Court ruling against segregation in public schools was reported upon by representatives of the states concerned."

ATTACKS ON NAACP LEADERS

Tampa, Florida: Police harrassment of NAACP leaders, now assuming a southwide pattern, has victimized William A. Fordham, president of the Florida state conference of NAACP branches, who was arrested, handcuffed and beaten by Tampa police on October 1 on a charge of double parking.

Mr. Fordham, an attorney, double-parked his car in front of the local NAACP office to make a telephone call. While he was inside the office, police proceeded to call a wrecker to remove his car.

The difficulty, Mr. Fordham said in a statement the next day, "stemmed from the fact I insisted on being given a ticket and allowed to drive my own car instead of paying a wrecker $5.00 to pull it away. It seems to me that this policy of having wreckers to move cars of capable drivers is a

racket. I had not been drinking and felt that I was capable of driving my own car."

When he protested, he was "handcuffed, beaten, kicked and arrested by Officers W. L. Strickland and Zeon Henderson," Mr. Fordham said.

Backing up their president, the officers and members of the Florida state NAACP issued a statement affirming their support of Mr. Fordham "since our investigation reveals that actions of the officers were uncalled for and that they exceeded all lawful propriety."

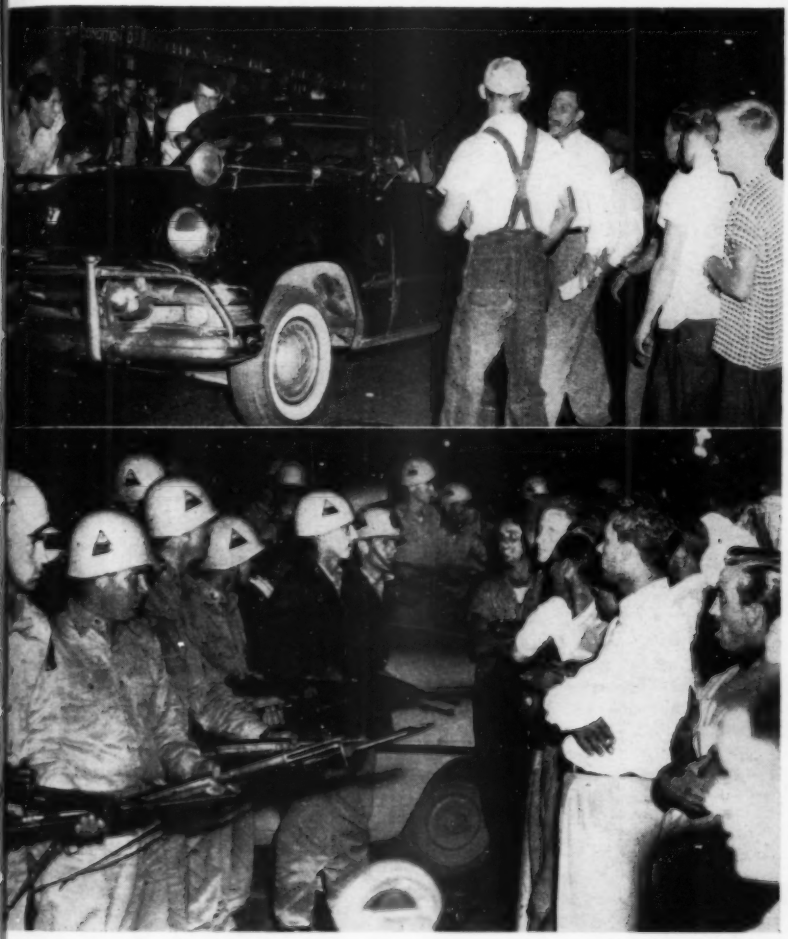
Mr. Fordham also alleged that an account of his arrest in a local daily paper was "distorted" representing only what the police told the reporter. "I do not know of any attempt made by the local press to contact me or any officer of the NAACP to obtain facts," he said. "Nor did my wife, who was at home and who knew of my whereabouts at all times, receive any call from the press concerning the occurrence. The entire incident as related to reporters by the officers was distorted and the whole truth was not told."

Similar incidents involving NAACP leaders have been reported from Mississippi, Alabama and Texas. Negroes active in the civil rights movement have been arrested and fined for minor traffic violations.

South Carolina: The home of Rev. James W. Seals of Manning, South Carolina, a founder of the Clarendon county NAACP branch was burned in October. Rev. Seals was notified of the disaster, which occured on October 2, while he was visiting relatives in New York City. He says he had received various threats because of his NAACP activities, and that he had been subject to economic pressures for the same reason. Rev. Seals pastors African Methodist Episcopal churches in Summerton and Silvers, South Carolina.

NAACP GOALS FOR 1963

- Equality of job opportunity
- Freedom of residence
- Right to the ballot
- Racial integration in the public schools
- Abolition of jim crow in transportation
- Abolition of race discrimination in places of public accommodation
- Free access to non-segregated health services



United Press Photo

HOLDING BACK THE TIDE—*Billy Middlebrooks (center, white shirt, facing camera) Knoxville manager United Press bureau tries to dissuade a mob which attempts to haul a Negro motorist from his car as the latter passed through Clinton, Tennessee, on August 31.* BOTTOM: *Tennessee National Guardsmen hold jeering mob at bay with fixed bayonets during anti-Negro demonstration in Clinton, Tennessee.*

What the Branches Are Doing

California: The fair employment practices committee of the VALLEJO branch claims that local merchants are losing business because of unequal job opportunities.

The annual calendar rally and musical program of the RICHMOND branch was held on September 15 at the Masonic Hall.

Florida: Seventeenth annual session of the NAACP Florida state conference of branches was held at Sarasota, October 26-27. Rev. Keenzie Steele, president of the Tallahassee branch, was the keynote speaker.

Illinois: Reports on the membership campaign, problems of discrimination in education and housing as well as the voting record of candidates for public office featured the September 28 meeting of the CHICAGO branch.

Conferences between representatives of the CHICAGO branch and officials of Blue Island School District No. 218 on charges of segregation in the boundary line for a new high school being constructed have reached a stalmate.

The branch charges that the boundary line for the new school district is so drawn that the school will be an all-Negro school.

The new school, a million dollar structure for the 9th and 10th grade students being constructed at Crawford Avenue and Midlothian Turnpike, is scheduled for use the first part of next year.

The building is located on a small plot in Crestwood, adjacent to the village of Robbins. And the boundary for the new school district as now established includes the site of the school in Crestwood and the village of Rob-

LIFE MEMBERS—*Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, receives $500 check for NAACP life membership from Mrs. Berthena Ross, dean of pledgees of Eta chapter of Tau Gamma Delta sorority. Looking on (l.) are Drucilla Pearcy, chapter baselius, and (r.) Thelma Richardson. The life membership project, at Mrs. Ross' suggestion, was started in December 1955 and finished in June 1956.* BOTTOM: *Marion Stewart of the NAACP life membership drive appears happy to receive $100 check for Association from Thomas Brown (left) and Edward Hill, president and secretary, respectively, of Club Sixty-Six. This Club has been a $500 NAACP life member since 1942.*

A. Hansen Studio—Layne's Studio

bins. Branch representatives contend that the boundary line would automatically make the new school an all-Negro school.

Michigan: The DETROIT branch reports that it is pleased by police commissioner Edward S. Piggins' report on his effort to correct problems of police abuse of local Negro citizens and to improve relations between the police department and the community.

Minnesota: The legal redress committee of the MINNEAPOLIS branch is considering action against Winston Brothers, developers of the Garden City model homes project in Brooklyn Center. Officials of Winston Brothers, it is charged, have conspired with the Pennsylvania Realty Company, sellers of homes in the project, to exclude Negroes from the area on the grounds that it is not "economically feasible" to sell to Negroes. Present residents of Brooklyn Center, it is claimed, would object to the presence of Negroes.

New York: Dr. Frank S. Horne, executive director of the New York City Commission on Interracial Relations, was main speaker at a mass meeting sponsored by the housing committee of the NEW YORK CITY branch at the 137th Street YWCA on October 3.

Republican and Democratic candidates for the New York state senate told the CENTRAL LONG ISLAND branch their personal views on civil rights. The two candidates, Elisha T. Barrett (R.) and Bronson O'Reilly (D.), speaking at the branch political action forum, gave full personal endorsement to the Negro's fight for equality in American life.

Approximately ninety people attended the meeting held at the Holy Trinity Baptist church. Others who spoke were Dr. Eugene Reed, branch president, who acted as moderator; Mrs. Dorothea Cumberbach of Wyandanch, chairman of the branch legislative committee; and the Rev. Frank Walton, pastor of the

WORKERS' BANQUET—*Some of the celebrants at workers' banquet of Boston, Mass., branch, held at end successful membership drive. From left, they are Hugh Magbie, chairman of the 1956 membership committee; Mrs. Australia Jenkins, top woman solicitor; Fred C. Artis, top man solicitor. Mrs. Jenkins brought in a total of 91 members and $300.50; Mr. Artis, 102 members and $216.50.*

Ebenezer Baptist church of Babylon, who offered the opening prayer.

The forum was followed by a workshop, with practical demonstration of how to operate a voting machine.

NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins was the featured speaker at a recent meeting of the CORONA EAST-ELMHURST branch.

Pennsylvania: Dr. Albert P. Seltzer of Philadelphia has given the PHILADELPHIA branch a $250 gift in memory of Mrs. Carrie Millen, recently deceased wife of Judge Herbert E. Millen of the municipal court.

"It is my earnest hope," Dr. Seltzer wrote in an accompanying letter, "that this contribution will help in some way to fight segregation in the South, which 'sickens' me when I read about it in the newspapers."

Judge Millen, who received the memorial contribution, forwarded it to the branch.

The PHILADELPHIA branch is going to request the State Insurance Commission to investigate the discriminatory practices of the United Insurance Company of America. The branch has received formal complaints from persons who have applied for certain types of policies and whose applications have been rejected for no apparent reason.

Texas: Second annual workshop and rally of the east Texas area of the TEXAS STATE CONFERENCE was held at Marshall, September 20-30.

Local Texas branches started their 1956 fight-for-freedom-fund campaign on September 30.

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THE NAACP

20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Notice of Nominations to the Board of Directors of the NAACP

These persons have been nominated by the Nominating Committee for the three-year term ending December 31, 1959:—

MRS LILLIAN A. ALEXANDER—New York City
President member of the Board since 1924. Life member of Association. Member board of New York City YWCA. Regular contributor to the Association. Member of the Committee on Administration.

HON. THEODORE M. BERRY—Cincinnati, Ohio
Present member of the Board since 1945. Vice-Mayor of Cincinnati. Former assistant prosecuting attorney. Former president Cincinnati branch. Member city council of Cincinnati.

DR. ALGERNON D. BLACK—New York City
Member of Board since 1951. Chairman, Board of Leaders of Ethical Culture Society. Acting chairman, Commission Against Discrimination in Housing. Member committee on administration.

DR. RALPH J. BUNCHE—New York City
Undersecretary, United Nations. Former UN Mediator for Palestine. Recipient Nobel Peace Prize 1950. Former director Trusteeship Division, UN. Member of the board since 1950.

MR. ROSCOE DUNJEE—Oklahoma City, Okla.
Present member of the Board since 1936. Editor, *Black Dispatch*, Oklahoma City. Organized first state conference of NAACP.

MR. KIVIE KAPLAN—Boston, Mass.
Member of Board since 1954. Co-Chairman with Dr. Benjamin Mays of National Life Membership Committee. Is life member. Active member executive committee Boston branch.

DR. J. LEONIDAS LEACH—Flint, Mich.
Physician. Member of Board since 1951. Life member.

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN — New York City
Member of Board since 1929. Former director UNRRA. Former Governor New York. U.S. Senator from New York.

MR. ALFRED BAKER LEWIS—Greenwich, Conn.
Present member of Board since 1939. President Union Casualty Company, Mt. Vernon, N. Y. Member of the following board Committees: Committee on branches, budget Committee and committee on administration.

MR. Z. ALEXANDER LOOBY—Nashville, Tenn.
Member of Board since 1954. Legal redress committee, State of Tennessee. Participated in Columbia, Tenn., riot cases and University of Tennessee and other cases. Member Nashville City Council.

DR. BENJAMIN MAYS—Atlanta, Ga.
Present member of the Board since 1951. Co-Chairman Life Membership Committee. President Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

DR. JAMES J. MCCLENDON—Detroit, Mich.
Present member of Board since 1945. Physician and surgeon. Former president Detroit branch.

MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT—New York City.
Member of the Board since 1945. Former chairman Commission on Human Rights of the UN and U.S. Representative to the UN Assembly in 1949. Writer.

MRS. AMY SPINGARN—New York City
Member of Board since 1939. Widow of Joel E. Spingarn, former president of the NAACP and one of the original incorporators, and donor of Spingarn Medal.

DR. J. M. TINSLEY—Richmond, Va.
Member of the Board since 1942. Dentist. Civic and fraternity leader. Life member. Former president Virginia State Conference of Branches.

MRS. JESSIE VANN—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Member of Board since 1948. Publisher and Treasurer, Pittsburgh Courier Publishing Company.

The Association's Constitution provides:

"Independent nominations may be made by petitions signed by not less than thirty members of the Association in good standing by filing the same with the Secretary *not later than November 1* of each year. The Secretary shall send to each branch of the Association not later than November 15 of each year a ballot containing the nominations of the Nominating Committee, plus the nominations by independent petition. Each branch at its annual meeting shall by vote of the members present makes its choices for the members of the Board of Directors. The said choices shall be marked upon the ballot submitted by the Secretary and the said ballot shall be signed by the president and secretary of the branch and must be returned to the national office not later than December 31 of each year. The said ballots shall be held by the Secretary in a safe place until the annual meeting.

"At each annual meeting the said ballots shall be opened by a committee selected at said annual meeting and counted on the following basis:

	Members			*Votes*
Branches of from	50	to	100	2
	100	to	500	3
	500	to	1000	4
	1000	to	2500	5
	2500	to	5000	6
	5000	to	10000	8
	10000	to	20000	9
Over	20000			10

"Any ballot or ballots containing the name or names of any persons for election to the said Board not nominated in accordance with the Constitution shall be void."

College and School News

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CLUBS — YMCA's — CHOIRS, etc.
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Mechanic Arts	

Liberal Arts
Graduate Program
Evening Classes

REGISTRAR, LINCOLN UNIVERSITY
Jefferson City, Missouri

Among those who received their Ph.D. degrees at OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY at the summer convocation held the first week in September was Anne Jordan of Columbus, Ohio.

■

Fifty percent of the MOREHOUSE COLLEGE faculty are holders of doctorates from the best universities of this country and Europe.

The college reports the following additions to its faculty: Dr. George S. Mitchell, author and scholar; Dorian S. Gant, formerly of Winston-Salem teachers college; and Dr. Rose-Marie P. Akselrad, who will teach German, replacing Dr. Wilhelm Braun.

Returning this year after leaves for doctoral study are A. Russell Brooks and Geraldine L. Clark, both of the English department.

■

President Lister of JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY lists some of the improvements made at his university since 1950. More than one million dollars has been spent to make improvements in Biddle Memorial Hall, the central heating plant, Carter Hall, the Carnegie library, the Seminary building, the George E. Davis Science Hall, the athletic field and the campus driveways.

■

The METROPOLITAN MUSIC SCHOOL (New York City) is offering special features this year in its pre-school

and preparatory department, children's dance and drama, elementary and advanced work in jazz, folk courses in the fretted instruments, and workshops for teachers.

■

The VALPARAISO UNIVERSITY (Indiana) news service reports the donation of $2,000 over a two-year period by the lay women's group for a human relations educational project to be directly supervised by the Lutheran Women's Missionary League.

■

FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE began its 80th academic year with a full enrollment and several faculty changes. She has a new president in Dr. Rudolph Jones, and new staff additions in Odell Uzzell, dean of men; Carolyn McDew, acting dean of women; Juletta Randolph, instructor in art; and Joseph Knuckles, instructor in science and mathematics.

■

A special course for teachers in the "600" schools, endorsed by the New York City Board of Education, is being offered by the AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY'S department of public instruction. The

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■

Mrs. Jean Greer and Musette Middlebrooks of ATLANTA UNIVERSITY have received scholarships from the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis to support their study toward degrees in medical social work. Mrs. Greer will go to the medical school of Duke university; Miss Middlebrooks, to the City of Detroit Receiving Hospital.

Marjorie Bigsby is one of ten young women who have been awarded a scholarship by the National YWCA for advanced study in social work.

The university has received grants from the National Institute of Mental Health and from the United States Department of Health Welfare and Education for scholarships in the school of social work.

■

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) opened its 90th academic year on September 17 with a large enrollment. Seventeen new faculty members were introduced by acting president Dr. Earl E. Dawson.

Students and instructors in the university department of art collected a total of fourteen different prizes in various contests conducted in the State of Missouri during the summer months. The prizes were won in competition at the Missouri State and Cole County State Fairs; chief honors went to James D. Parr, head of the art department, who won first prizes in the water color and ceramics division. Al Gene Besser, art

instructor, won first prize in the professional oil painting contest.

The U. S. State Department has selected Dr. Armistead S. Pride of the Lincoln school of journalism to be visiting Fulbright professor at the University of Cairo, Egypt.

■

Additions and replacements to the faculty of FISK UNIVERSITY have been announced by President Charles S. Johnson, who characterized it as "the strongest faculty in the 90-year history of the institution."

Dr. Scott Buchanan, former dean of St. John's college, Annapolis, has been selected to head the department of philosophy and religion.

D. Theodore Love has been appointed head of the mathematics department.

Dr. Mark Heald comes from Rutgers university to become professor of history and to direct courses in Western civilization.

Dr. Charles E. Gehlke of Western Reserve university, one of the nation's foremost criminologists, will serve as Whitney visiting professor of sociology.

Dr. William Lloyd Imes, former president of Knoxville college, will be acting dean of the chapel.

A newly created post at Fisk this year is that of the headmaster, who will have overall direction of the intellectual life of the students in the dormitories. Appointed headmasters are Dr. Max Schoen, Mrs. Evelyn Crook, Mrs. Bonita Valien, and Dr. Inez Allen.

Dr. V. T. Thayer will be visiting professor in education; Dr. John P. LeCoq, visiting professor of modern foreign languages.

Other appointments include Dr.

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Albert Woollett, assistant professor of physics; Dr. Marion Williams, assistant professor of biology; Dr. David Wetherbee, assistant professor of biology; Gwendolyn Belcher, assistant professor of pianoforte; Charles Daves, instructor in English; Mrs. Anjou German, instructor in chemistry; Mrs. Pearl Gunter, instructor in physical education for women; Paul T. Bechtol, Jr., instructor in economics; and Julia Foreman, dormitory director.

Dr. Johnson also announced the return of Dr. Bernard Spivack, head of the English department, and Frank O'Hara, professor of English, from leaves of absence. Six members of the Fisk faculty are on leave this year to do research and for further study.

President Charles S. Johnson explains "A Southern Negro's View of the South" in the September 23, issue of the *New York Times Magazine*. "He indicates the southern way as a defiance of freedom and calls for a national effort to bring about human equality."

■

The 91st academic year opened at SHAW UNIVERSITY on September 19 with a large student enrollment and several faculty changes.

Dr. Nelson H. Harris, director of the department of education, has announced that the extension department will offer courses for in-service teachers at Rocky Mount, Kinston, and Raleigh during the first semester.

■

The largest legacy ever received by the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND, a gift of $204,000, has been announced by W. J. Trent, Jr., executive director of the fund. The generous contribution came from the estate of the late Mrs. F. H. Wilks, a consistent supporter of the UNCF since its inception in 1944.

■

SPELMAN COLLEGE opened on September 19 with a full enrollment as well as new faculty and staff appointments.

Dr. Grace Boggs and Earl Sanders are new additions to the music department. Howard Zinn is new acting chairman of the department of history and the social sciences. Dr. Nai-Tung Ting and Arthrell Dupree have joined the English department.

Dr. Helen Sanders has been named acting chairman of the English department. Lucinda Edwards and Rowena Baker have been added to the physical education department. Mrs. Clare Haac joins the French department. Mrs. Beatrice Roosa is in the registrar's office, Roberta Cifors is housemother, and Mrs. Marjorie Spring returns after a year's absence as secretary to the dean of instruction.

■

New faculty members introduced to the student body at the special DILLARD UNIVERSITY convocation were as follows:

William Cope, Jr., dean of students and assistant professor of education; Thomas E. Crittenden, Jr., instructor in business administration; Calvin O. Dash, assistant professor of music; Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., instructional assistant in the social sciences; Thelma E. Hayes, instruc-

(*Continued on page* 574)

United Press Photo

SOMETHING TO TALK ABOUT—*Passing on the good news, Betty Ann Davis Tillman, 19, of Wadesboro, North Carolina, telephones friends to tell them that she has been accepted by the Woman's College of the Consolidated University of North Carolina for the 1956 freshman class. Miss Tillman is one of two Negro girls who have been accepted by the college.*

Crawford—Nilva

THE CENTAURS *of Cleveland, Ohio, make a contribution to the Legal Fund of the NAACP. The Centaurs, owners of Gastown and the Renaissance Beverage Store, gave 1¢ a gallon of gasolene sales and 2 percent of the sales in their store to the Association.* CENTER: *Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson (fifth from L.), dynamic president of the Baltimore, Maryland, branch, receives honorary LL.D. degree at Morgan commencement.* BOTTOM: *A panel on "Problems of Civil Rights Within the Trade Unions" at the 2nd annual trade union conference on civil rights of the Jewish Labor Committee held at the Belmont Plaza Hotel in New York City. NAACP labor secretary Herbert Hill is third from right.*

Book Reviews

BRAZILIAN STUDIES

The Negro in Brazilian Literature. **By Raymond S. Sayers. New York: Hispanic Institute in the United States, 1956. 240 pp. $4.75. Illustrated.**

Town and Country in Brazil. **By Marvin Harris. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956. X+302 pp. $4.50.**

These two books study different aspects of Brazil. Dr. Sayers is interested in the Negro as fictional character in Brazilian literature; Dr. Harris, in the effects of "pre-industrial urbanism upon contemporary modes of life in the Brazilian interior." The books complement each other in the light they throw upon Brazilian racial and class patterns.

Dr. Sayers, lecturer in Brazilian and Portuguese literature at Columbia University, has had the excellent idea of examining the Negro "as a literary theme, especially in fiction, drama and poetry written before 1888, the year slavery was abolished." The result is a thorough piece of scholarship and also an original contribution to Brazilian literary history in which historical research blends imperceptibly with literary criticism.

The Negro has always been an important element, with varied emphasis from literary form to literary form and from literary period to literary period, in Brazilian literature both as character and as creator. He was ubiquitous in Brazilian letters because he was to be found everywhere in Brazilian life, mainly as slave but also as freeman. About forty percent of the Brazilian population even today is Negro, and as late as 1872, sixteen years before the abolition of slavery, Brazil had a Negro population of 5,312,588, of which 1,510,806 were slaves and 3,801,782 free mulattoes. The white population at the time was only 3,787,289.

Negroes were stock figures in Peninsular literature as the Noble Negro and comics before the settling of Brazil and early Brazilian writers copied the Peninsular stereotypes until slavery brought in stereotypes of its own. (Gil Vicente (c. 1465-1537), one of the Peninsular playwrights, was himself mulatto.) "The Negro—African, *crioulo,* and mulatto—as he appears in the literature of the first two centuries," explains Dr. Sayers, "is a real person, presented at first hand and not as a reflection of European literary modes." In the final phase of the colonial period Negroes of different types appear in prose, but seldom in poetry except as background material because the readers of this poetry were aristocrats. Two of the poets of this period were mulattoes, Silva Alvarenga (1749-1814) and Caldas Barbosa (1738-1800).

During the first half of the nineteenth century the Negro was still a shadowy figure, although he appears frequently in prose as slave, servant, and faithful retainer of his urban master. In the second half we meet him more often in official reports and magazine articles than in creative literature, and when he becomes visible it is either as suffering or faithful slave, and sometimes as the Noble Negro. ". . . By 1870 there was hardly a poet who was not writing at least a few pieces about the life of the slave, and in the last decade of slavery the theme absorbed a large part of the space of the periodical press. . . . As the literature about the Negro develops, he ceases to be an abstraction and becomes a person." To the current literary stereotypes were added new stock figures, the most important being the beautiful *mulata*.

Stock Negro figures in the Brazilian drama (1850-1888) were the Negro patriot, the mulatto traitor, and the comic Negro. "The Negro appears in almost every kind of novel except the Indian."

Although many of the Brazilian literary stereotypes of the Negro appear in American literature, there are others essentially Brazilian. There are the impudent colored boys (*os moleques*) of the cities, the Negro patriot and the mulatto traitor, the *feiticeiro* or *feiticeira*, witch; the *mulata* poisoner, the *quilombola* (revolter) who flees the plantation to make his own settlements.

There is no Uncle Tom as symbol of slave submissiveness, no Old Mammy with vari-color turban. Even Simon Legree, the Brazilian *feitor* or overseer, is himself Negro. And the "tragic octoroon" of American tradition is replaced by the beautiful, jealous, or lascivious *mulata*, "to whose charms the white man inevitably succumbs." "In Brazilian literature," explains the author, "the Negro slave is a less important character than the mulatto, whether slave or free, who is looked upon as a different type from the African or the Negro creole. . . ."

Mulatto types preponderate in Brazilian literature because they preponderated in Brazilian life, where the very light ones were often accepted into the white elite. The *mulata* heroine, Isaura, of Guimarães' novel marries a white aristocrat. The Negro heroine of Alencar's *Mother* has a mulatto son who is treated in the play as if he were white. In American fiction he would be treated as a Negro. The white Leonardo of Antonio de Almeida's *Memoirs of a Militia Sergeant* lives for a while with his sweetheart's mulatto family without any references being made to their color. Incidentally many of the prominent writers of the period studied by Dr. Sayers were themselves mulattoes, yet they treated Negro character, if at all, no differently from their white contemporaries. "There is no doubt," says the author, "as to the great part played in Brazilian history and the arts by Negroes and mulattoes. On the other hand, the Negro, even if he was a wealthy intellectual, was always in an ambiguous position in the society of the latter days of the Empire."

Brazilian letters also has the play with all Negro characters (Pascal's *The Orphan of the Nagôs Negroes*, 1872), although they are really whites in black face. There is one play, *The Pro-Slaver*, 1882, by Artur Azevedo, with a Negro adulterer who has a son by his white mistress. The master rears the child as his own. Another play, Benjamin Augusto's one-act *The Slave* (1866) describes a freed slave who graduates from medical school and who then spends his time buying up and freeing other Negro slaves.

Dr. Sayers offers a wealth of unusual information which readers will want to explore.

The kernel of Dr. Harris' *Town and*

Country in Brazil appeared originally as a chapter in *Race and Class in Rural Brazil* (1952). In seven chapters the author studies the setting, economics, class and race, family and the individual, government and politics, religion and folk beliefs of Minas Velhas (Old Mines), a small county seat in the mountains of central Bahia, population 1,500. The community is heterogenous, individualized and secular, with differences in rank stratified into two sharply defined classes. Manufacture and commerce are the main sources of livelihood. The townspeople of Minas Velhas look down upon the country people despite many similarities between the two groups. 'The townspeople's estimate of rural ways is based partly on stereotype and legend and partly on some very real and visible differences in behavior."

Minas Velhas takes its politics very serioulsy, thus producing intense schisms within the community. Politics even affects the church, which seems unable to act as a cohesive force over local economic, social, and religious divisions. Though the community is normally Catholic, the men leave the church going to the women—". . . the men expect to see the women in church, and the women do not expect to see the men there." "Rather than invest the priest with an air of holiness, the condition of celibacy only creates an air of suspicion." (A character in Jorge Amado's *Cacau* expresses the same opinion: "I never like those fellows wearing priest's petticoats. That's woman's business.")

Man is the boss in the community, and prostitution is an accepted feature of community life. "Everyone considers it better to be a man than a woman." The *compadresco*, or ritually extended kinship, is accepted and all children about to be baptized must have two sponsors, a godfather and a godmother. More than half of an individual's godparents in Minas Velhas are likely to be unrelated to his family.

There are two recognized classes—the whites or the rich and the Negroes or the poor—in the community. Individual rank however is determined by a combination of criteria: economic, occupational, educational, and racial. And the first three factors may to some extent define even race. In other words, money, occupation and education may "whiten" a Negro. "Hence, the more Negroes that money actually does 'whiten,' the more money is required for that whitening to take place." A prominent Negro may be invited to most formal functions in the homes of the elite, but he would never visit their homes informally and they would not visit his.

A Negro of Minhas Velhas may attempt "to pass," "not by posing as white but by posing as anything but a Negro — as a dark *moreno*, or *chulo*, or *caboclo*, etc." And when these categories do not suffice, he is liable to invent new ones. The author mentions a prosperous, well educated, politically active storekeeper who is really a black (*preto*) yet he prefers to use the euphemism *roxinho*, a little purple. And he calls his son a "slightly purple fellow." As in most of Latin America, the many physical types are classified according to hair texture, hair form and hair color, and skin color and skin texture. "It is the Negro of 'average wealth'—the literate, skilled, and self-supporting individual—who most resents the genuine racial barrier which excludes him from the white's domain."

Students of Brazil can learn much from this book despite its sociological jargon.

JAMES W. IVY

***The Primitive*. A novel by Chester Himes. New York: The New American Library, 1956 (first printing 1956). 152 pp. $0.25.**

The Primitive is at best a Brobdingnagian close-up of two unworthy souls —Negro writer Jesse Robinson and white do-gooder Kristina W. Cummings

—whose lives are cast upon a sea of alcohol. As such, it carries a naturalistic descriptive strength interspersed with typical Himesian humor, but none of the driving force pointed towards noble sentiment one generally expects from Himes. Set in New York City, it comes off as a sordid and unwholesome performance which never gets off its knees or out of the bathroom atmoswhere which clings to it like the odor of a squashed skunk. Billed as bitter and brilliant, it really has less of these elements than of futility. Its seamy, sub-dimensional preoccupation adds nothing to the distinguished reputation of its author.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

***Citizen's Guide to De-Segregation:* A Study of Social and Legal Change in American Life. By Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955. X+185 pp. Paper, $1.00.**

Pointed towards the layman this little monograph is largely a summation of developments in the struggle of the Negro and others that led up to the U.S. Supreme Court decisions May 17, 1954, declaring segregated schools to be unconstitutional. Here are analyses in simple and easily understood form of the Reconstruction background, the seperate-but-equal doctrine, various school cases challenging segregation, the climax cases of 1954, and the meaning of the decisions. There are suggestions of how one can help to implement the rulings and projections about the future as desegregation takes place. An appendix of high court decisions, plus clarifying explanatory notes of material in the contents and lists of legal cases round off the volume. This is a handbook that community and school groups, as well as individuals, will find helpful and enlightening in understanding what is taking

ANNE JORDAN
Ph.D., Ohio State

place as educational integration moves forward in the South today.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

LOOKING & LISTENING

(*Continued from page* 551)

gro, the Jew does hate him with a double though muted hatred: for being at once too like himself and too like the *goyim*—for resembling what the Jew most resents in his own situation and also what he most despises in the whole non-Jewish world. . . . No Jew can selflessly dedicate himself to the fight for the equality of the Negro; when he pretends that he is not also fighting for himself, he is pretending that he is indistinguishable from a *goy*."

NEW "NAACP CHAMP" *Mrs. Eulalia Conley receives the Spencer Trophy, symbol of membership production supremacy in the Cincinnati, Ohio, branch, from Abe Goldhagen.* CENTER: *100-member generals, of which there are twenty, of the Cincinnati branch. They brought in more than 100 members each.* BOTTOM: *These are 10-member workers of the Cincinnati branch. They brought in more than 10 members each. The Cincinnati branch exceeded its national office quota by 5,000 members.*

REPORT ON ISRAEL

(*Continued from page 526*)

to a healthy and useful life in our civil society.

By so doing it will make a significant contribution to a democratic society concerned with the welfare of all of its citizens. It will translate the prophetic ideal of "Do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with they God" into the day to day life of its people.

COLLEGE NEWS

(*Continued from page 566*)

tor in health education and university nurse; Ralph G. Johnson, assistant professor of English; Gloria Anne Mixon, instructor in English; Wilbur D. Moore, instructor in chemistry; Dorothy C. Nash, instructor in psychology; Richard E. Nelson, instructor in music; Peter G. Saunders, instructor in physical education; Mrs. Lillie T. Thomas, instructor in nursing; and Timothy L. Wilson, instructor in chemistry.

Dillard registrar Anna M. Sewall reports a total of 82 students on the university honor roll for the second semester of the 1955-56 school year.

■

According to Dean Thomas H. Henderson, VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY enrolled 950 students this school year, seven percent more students, 885, than were enrolled last year.

Two new faculty members have been added: Dr. Lewis Gist, as professor of chemistry; and Theodore Sykes, as instructor in mathematics.

The 54-voice Virginia Union University Choir appeared in its first concert of the 1956-57 season in Baltimore, Maryland, at the Enon Baptist church, on October 7.

■

Dr. Robert P. Daniel, president of VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE, has announced thirty-one additions and replacements to the faculty and staff of the college in Petersburg and seven additions and replacements to the faculty and staff at the Norfolk Division.

VSC has been designated as a testing center for the 1956 nationwide administration of the National Teacher Examinations on October 20.

■

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY announces six new faculty appointments.

Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook, department of political science; Carl Harm, Warren Moore and Mrs. Helen Westerfield, to the faculty of the school of social work; Mrs. Charley Mae Lowe, part-time teacher; Dr. Linwood Graves, professor in the school of education.

Dr. Charles Wahl, chairman of the French department, has returned from a year's leave of absence.

■

CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE reports an enrollment of over 300 freshmen, the largest number coming from Ohio.

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